

Message Text

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TAGS: SOPN (KISSINGER, H. A.)

SUBJECT: WASHPOST EDITORIAL, SUNDAY, APRIL 25

NO. 10

EDITORIAL ENTITLED, "AN AFRICAN POLICY" FOLLOWS:

SECSTATE KISSINGER'S CURRENT TRIP TO AFRICA--HIS FIRST-
SHOULD GIVE HIM AND REST OF US, TOO, A BELATED AND MUCH-
NEEDED CHANCE TO ASK: WHAT ARE REQUIREMENTS OF AMERICAN
POLICY IN AFRICA? IT SEEMS TO US THERE OUGHT TO BE THREE
MAJOR ELEMENTS: CONCERN FOR DEVELOPMENT, SUPPORT FOR RACIAL
CONCILIATION, AND ATTENTION TO SOVIET (AND CUBAN) PENETRA-
TION. PROBLEM LIES IN WEIGHT ASSIGNED TO THESE ELEMENTS
AND IN THEIR COMBINATION.

KISSINGER WILL NO DOUBT MAKE OFFERS OF BILATERAL ASSISTANCE
TO PARTICULAR COUNTRIES ON HIS ITINERARY: TO SOME LIKE
ZAIRE, WHICH ARE AMERICAN POLITICAL FAVORITES, AND TO OTHERS
LIKE ZAMBIA (AND MOZAMBIQUE), WHICH ARE PAYING AN ECONOMIC
TOLL FOR IMPOSING SACTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA. HE WILL ALSO
LEAD AMERICAN DELEGATION TO NAIROBI SESSION OF UN' CONTINU-
ING NORTH-SOUTH ECONOMIC DIALOGUE, WHERE HE WILL REPORTEDLY
PROPOSE CREATION OF AN "INTERNATIONAL RESOURCES BANK" TO
HELP POOR NATIONS DEVELOP THEIR RAW MATERIALS. BUT, AS
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HELPFUL AS THESE INITIATIVES MAY BE, THERE ARE LIMITS TO

WHAT HE CAN DO. THE U.S. WOULD LIKE TO SEE AFRICA CONCENTRATE ON DEVELOPMENT, BUT IT IS OF SEVERAL MINDS ABOUT SIZE AND NATURE OF ROLE THIS COUNTRY SHOULD PLAY IN PROCESS. STILL, KISSINGER WILL HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE DEVELOPMENT DIALOGUE AHEAD.

MISCALCULATING EVENTS, NIXON AND FORD ADMINISTRATIONS SPENT THEIR FIRST SEVEN YEARS PRETTY MUCH IGNORING RACIAL CONFRONTATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. ONLY ANGOLAN AFFAIR, BRINGING WITH IT SOVIET-CUBAN MILITARY INTERVENTION, AROUSED WASHINGTON TO NEED TO COMPOSE A MORE ATTENTIVE POLICY. KISSINGER, HOWEVER, EVEN ON EVE OF HIS DEPARTURE, CONVEYED IMPRESSION THAT HE CARES MORE ABOUT COMMUNIST ADVENTURISM IN AFRICA THAN ABOUT BLACK DIGNITY AND BLACK ACCESSION TO POWER IN PLACES NOW RULED BY WHITE MINORITIES. AS A RESULT, HE HAS COME UNDER INCREASINGLY HEAVY CRITICISM FROM AFRICANS--EVEN FROM SOME OF THOSE WHO ARE PRIVATELY A LOT MORE FEARFUL OF COMMUNIST PENETRATION THAN HE IS. AND HE HAS FAILED TO MUSTER A WORKING CONSENSUS BEHIND AMERICAN POLICY ON CAPITOL HILL.

THERE SEEMS SLIGHT PROSPECT THAT ON THIS TRIP KISSINGER CAN CONTRIBUTE MUCH TO SOLUTIONS IN RHODESIA OR, IN ANOTHER CONTEXT, IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA (NAMIBIA) OR IN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF. FOR ONE LARGE REASON, HE HAS NO WHITE COUNTRIES OR LEADERS ON HIS AFRICAN SCHEDULE. FOR ANOTHER, THERE SEEMS TO BE NO AGREEMENT WITHIN AMERICAN GOVT, OR WITHIN COUNTRY, ON WHETHER U.S. SHOULD DO ANYTHING MORE THAN WIELD RHETORIC OF "MAJORITY RULE" AND "PEACEFUL CHANGE" -- TWO SLOGANS WHOSE COMPATIBILITY WASHINGTON IS RELUCTANT TO SCAN TOO CLOSELY. MANY PEOPLE, IN THE U.S. AND AFRICA, URGE ADMINISTRATION TO STEAL RUSSIANS' THUNDER BY PLUMPING HARDER FOR MAJORITY RULE. BUT RUSSIANS, HAVING NO COMMITMENT TO PEACEFUL CHANGE -- HAVING IN FACT A CERTAIN INTEREST IN VIOLENT CHANGE -- CAN ALWAYS OUTBID THE U.S. IN THIS SUIT.

ONE POSSIBLE ANSWER, WE THINK, IS TO SEEK A POLICY THAT GOES BEYOND ANTI-COMMUNISM, AND BEYOND A COMPETITION IN MILITANCY WITH SOVIET UNION -- A COMPETITION U.S. COULD UNCLASSIFIED

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NOT WIN EVEN IF IT CHOSE TO ENTER IT, WHICH IT OUGHT NOT TO DO. SUCH A THIRD POLICY COULD CENTER ON DIPLOMACY AIMED NOT ONLY AT "MAJORITY RULE" BUT AT "MINORITY RIGHTS"--A PHRASE ONLY RECENTLY RESTORED TO OFFICIAL ADMINISTRATION PRONOUNCEMENTS. THERE IS A LOGIC TO THIS PAIRING. THE PRECIPITATE PURSUIT OF "MAJORITY RULE" WILL LIKELY PRODUCE MORE ANGOLAS, MORE MOZAMBIQUES, AND GREATER SOVIET INFLUENCE THE RESPONSIBLE PURSUIT OF "MAJORITY RULE AND MINORITY

RIGHTS" COULD PRODUCE SOMETHING VERY MUCH BETTER FOR THE PEOPLE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND FOR THE U.S., TOO. "MAJORITY RULE" GIVES WASHINGTON A CLAIM, WITHOUT PANDERING,

ON BLACK RESPECT. "MINORITY RIGHTS" GIVES WASHINGTON ACCESS TO WHITE GOVTS AND ELITES NOW FEARFUL THAT U.S. WILL YIELD AND LET THEM GO DOWN THE DRAIN.

THIS IS KIND OF APPROACH WE HOPE TO SEE KISSINGER EXPLORING ON HIS CURRENT TRIP. IT IS ALSO AN APPROACH WITH A GOOD CHANCE OF COMMANDING A CONSENSUS WITHIN U.S. AND THAT IS WHERE U.S.' AFRICAN POLICY ULTIMATELY MUST BE MADE. EAGLEBURGER

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